Presentation

This work was prepared by a team of researchers as part of a project of the National Institute of Demographic Studies (INED) in collaboration with the Laboratory of Problems of Demographic Development of the Institute of Socio-Economic Problems of the population of the Russian Academy of Sciences (ISEPN) and the Department of Demographic Theory and Policy of the Center for Demographic Studies at the Faculty of Economics of Moscow State University (Lomonosov). This project received support from TINTAS.

The team of researchers includes (in alphabetical order):

— Alexander Avdeev (Moscow University)
— Alain Monnier (INED)
— Marina Pechkova (ISEPN)
— Irina Troitskaya (Moscow University)

This project was designed and directed by Alexandre Avdeev, in collaboration with Alain Monnier. The data collection was carried out, through persistent work, by Marina Pechkova and Irina Troitskaya. The authors would like to express their gratitude to the staff of the department "Natural movement of population" of the State Statistics Committee of the Russian Federation, whose kind support made it possible to carry out this work, as well as to the staff of Archives of the National Economy of Russia and the Central State Archives in Moscow.

Faced with the difficulty of publishing all the data collected, choices were necessary. Firstly, only data are published by age group, whether for events or population structure. Furthermore, only the tables presenting annual results relating to Russia as a whole were printed; You will find on the diskette attached to this volume, in addition to the tables mentioned above, those presenting data relating to monthly movement as well as urban and rural populations.

The basic observations presented in this volume come from official sources, but all calculations, as well as estimates, are the responsibility of the authors, with the exception of life expectancies at birth. It indeed seemed preferable to calculate each series of indices using a uniform method; therefore, the indices contained in this volume may present differences with the official indices.

Introduction

Until recent years, it was difficult for an independent researcher to have access to consistent data on the movement and structure of the Russian population. No doubt about half of the censuses had been published, sometimes with great detail, but annual population estimates by sex and age were not available. As for detailed data on the movement of the population, their use was often restricted to "service needs". The development of demographic data and results was thus the work of a few specialists, without demographers from the research institutes or the University being associated with this work.

A few years ago, when the publication of demographic observations was becoming rare again, R. Pressât took stock of this situation for the post-war period [1] . Let us recall a few dates which were turning points. It was from 1950 that the raw data on the movement of the population were published: total population, number of births, deaths, infant deaths, marriages, divorces, (only for the USSR as a whole, but it is From 1959, the year of the first post-war census, slightly more detailed data began to become available, with marked inequalities depending on the phenomena: 1959 was thus a pivotal year in the history of demographic statistics in the Union. Soviet.

This is how the number of births according to the age of the mother or marriages of single people according to age will be published, respectively from 1959 and 1963. However, this effort to open up will stop at the statistics of deaths by sex and age: regarding mortality, we will only know the rates by sex and age groups. Regarding population structures during the 1959, 1970 and 1979 censuses, relatively abundant data on ethnic composition are published, but essential data are lacking: for the entire period, we have no distribution of the population by sex and age. It should be added, notes R. Pressât, that, both with regard to the movement of the population and the structure, the definitions of concepts, categories and calculation methods, which are essential for interpreting the published data, are generally lacking.

The publication, in 1973, of the first demographic collection *Population of the USSR, 1973* printed in only ten thousand copies, which, on the scale of the USSR is a confidential edition, will lift the secrecy a little, but will remain without future : from the mid-1970s, the publication of demographic data will become even poorer. The well-known case of infant mortality best illustrates this deterioration: from 1974, and for fifteen years, the number of deaths before the first birthday was subject to total censorship. From the same year, births or marriages by age, nor mortality rates by sex and age are no longer known. The last published mortality table relates to the

^ R.Pressat, "The impoverishment of Soviet demographic statistics", *Population,* 3, 1982, p. 655-662.
"Hace;ieHHe CCCP.1973" CraTHCTHHecKHH côopHHK. MocKBa, H3aaTejibCTBO "OrnTHCTHKa" 1975

of the seventy years that the USSR lasted: obviously, the Soviet leaders had a constant policy of hiding entire sections of reality, from their fellow citizens and perhaps even more so, in the context of the cold war, to international opinion. Let us add that the USSR, like other countries, considered that a certain amount of demographic information (the population of military age in particular) was “defense secrecy”.

Glasnost will significantly be the first step in political change in the USSR. It will result, in the field of demography, in access to previously completely secret data: infant mortality and causes of death in the first place. Three collections of statistics will be published in a few years: *The population of the USSR* (ed. 1987 and 1988) and *XDemographic yearbook of the USSR* (1990) [3] [4] * . We could then hope that this undertaking of reconstituting demographic series would continue, but the dismemberment of the Union and the current economic difficulties seriously compromise it.

The former USSR State Statistics Committee, which became the central statistical body of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), was still able to publish the first *Demographic Yearbook of the CIS, 1991,* [5] but this publication limits itself to presenting demographic data and indicators from recent years, without attempting to reconstitute the series again. Since 1992, only one statistical collection, previously "for service use", has appeared, under the aegis of the State Statistical Committee of Russia: *Number, composition and movement of the population in the Russian*

3

Alain Blum and Alain Monnier, Mortality by cause in the Soviet Union, *Population*, 6, 1989, p. 1053-

"HaceJieHHe CCCP.1987" CTaTHCTHHecKHH côopHHK. *("Population of the USSR. 1987" Statistical collection),* - Moscow, edition : "<I>HHaHCbi н cTaTHCTHKa",1988; in Russian.

"HaceJieHHe CCCP.1988" CraTHCTHHecKHH c6opHHK. *("Population of the USSR. 1988" Statistical collection),* - Moscow, edition: "<ï>HHaHCbi н CTaTHCTHKa". *989; in Russian.

“ÆeMorpa^HHecKHH ExeroaHHK CCCP. 1990.” (“ *Demographic directory of the USSR.1990')* Moscow, edition : "0HHaHCbi н cTaracTHKa", 1990 in Russian.

"fleMorpa<l)HHecKHH EaceronHHK. 1991." (" *Demographic Yearbook. 1991'),* - Moscow, edition of the CIS Statistical Committee *(CmamtcoMumema CHF),* 1992; in Russian.

"HncJieHHOCTb, cocTaB н flBHaceHHe HaceJieHHH в Pocchhckoh OeaepauHH" *(Effective composition and movement of the population in the Russian Federation),* - Moscow, edition of the Statistical Committee of the Russian Federation *(roctcoMcmam Poccuu),* 1992; in Russian.

The publication in 1995 of a new edition of "JfeMorpa^HHecKoro ExeroÆHHKa Pocchhckoh OeaepauHH" *(The demographic directory of the Russian Federation.1993,* - Moscow, edition of the Statistical Committee of Russia, 1994; in Russian and English) confirms this hypothesis: although the data relating to the different territories of Russia are widely presented, there are, on the other hand, only fragments of temporary series.

Year**	Population total*		Population urban*		Population rural*	
	Workforce at the start of the year**	Average annual growth rate*** (%)	Workforce at the start of the year**	Average annual growth rate*** (%)	Workforce at the start of the year**	Average annual growth rate*** (%)
1959	**117,534,000**		**61,611,000**		**55,923,000**	
1970	**130,079,000**	**0.92%**	**80,981,000**	**2.49%**	**49,098,000**	**-1.18%**
1979	**137,551,000**	**0.62%**	**95,374,000**	**1.82%**	**42,177,000**	**-1.69%**
1989	**147,400,000**	**0.69%**	**108,425,000**	**1.28%**	**38,975,000**	**-0.79%**
1994	**148,365,800**	**0.13%**	**108,461,800**	**0.01%**	**39,904,000**	**0.47%**
1995	**148 306 100**		**108,337,200**		**39,968,900**	

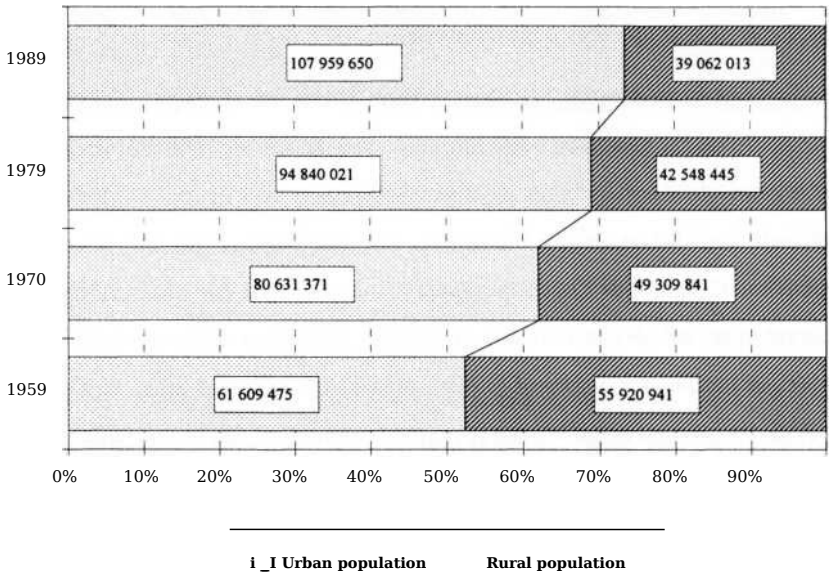
*** - in bold: census years**
**** - population present on January 15, 1959 and 1970, on January 17, 1979, on January 12, 1989 and on January 1, 1994 *** - for inter-censal periods and for the period January 12, 1989-**

From 1959 to 1989, that is to say in thirty years, the Russian population increased by almost thirty million inhabitants (table 1), or by more than 25%. This growth has slowed considerably since 1989, and Russia's population even decreased by 177,000

Currently 108 million inhabitants, or nearly three-quarters of the population, live in cities, forty million in the countryside. Since 1959, this distribution has changed profoundly, with the weight of the rural population decreasing over the years (see graph 1).

The distinction between "urban population" and "rural population", traditional in population statistics, reflects profound differences in living conditions and demographic behavior. Some of these differences have persisted over recent decades (see below), despite the profound changes observed in the distribution of the population between rural and urban areas.

Figure 1. The composition of the population of Russia by type of residence

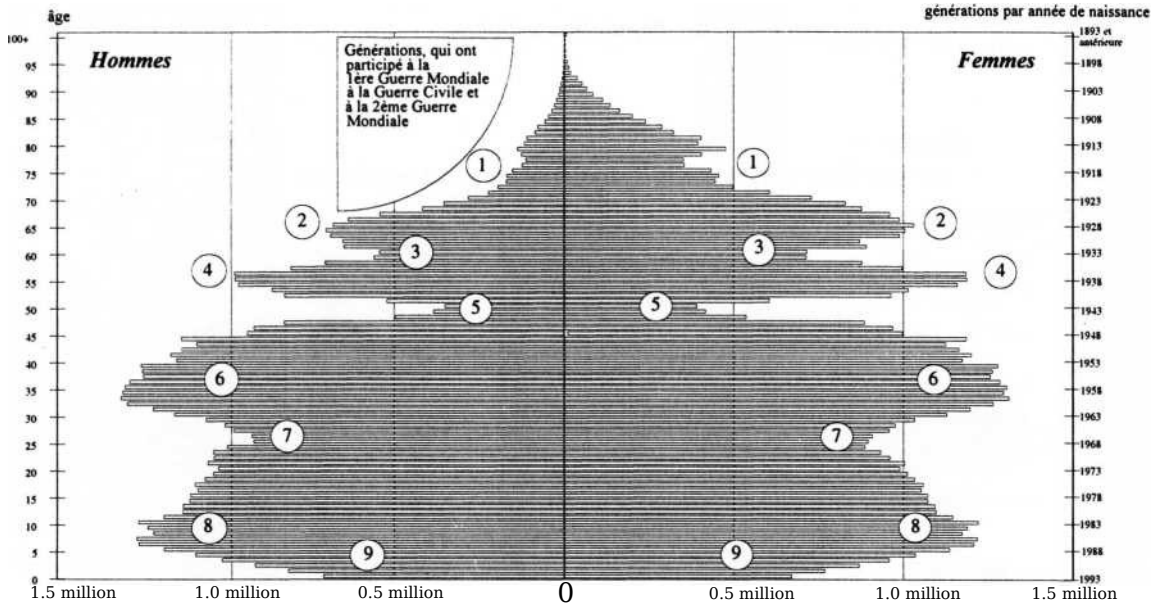


The rural exodus began in Russia in the last third of the 19th century; it accelerated after collectivization and socialist industrialization of the 1930s, but World War II delayed it. Note that in Imperial Russia, as in the communist USSR, not only external migration, but also the movement of peasants towards the cities was strictly regulated. It was only towards the end of the 1950s that peasants obtained the right to have a passport and to leave their collective farms to settle in the cities.

The age structure of the Russian population has been greatly distorted by the disruptions of 20th century European history (graph 2). The First World War, the 1917 Revolution and especially the Second World War left deep traces, not only because of the fall in the birth rate, but also because certain male generations were

In the following, the authors will use the term "Russian" to designate belonging to the population of the State of Russia, and no longer in the ethnic sense.

Figure 2. The age pyramid of the population of Russia as of January 1, 1994



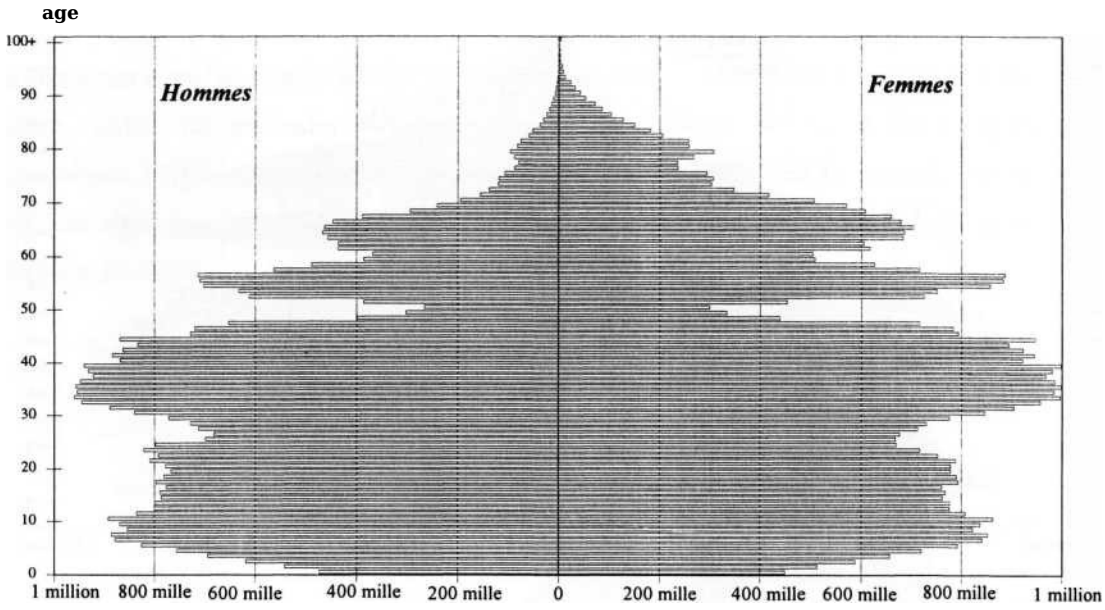
Legend :

1 - decline in the birth rate during the First World War, the Civil War and in the period of "military" communism;
2 - increase in the birth rate after the Civil War, at the time of the "New Economic Policy" (NEP);
3 - start of collectivization, "dekulakization" (1928) and famine of 1933;
4 - ban on abortion in 1936 and launch of the pronatalist policy;
5 - drop in births during the Second World War (minimum in 1942-1943);
6 - recovery of births after the war;
7 - echo of the Second World War;
8 - new family policy;
9 - current decline in the birth rate

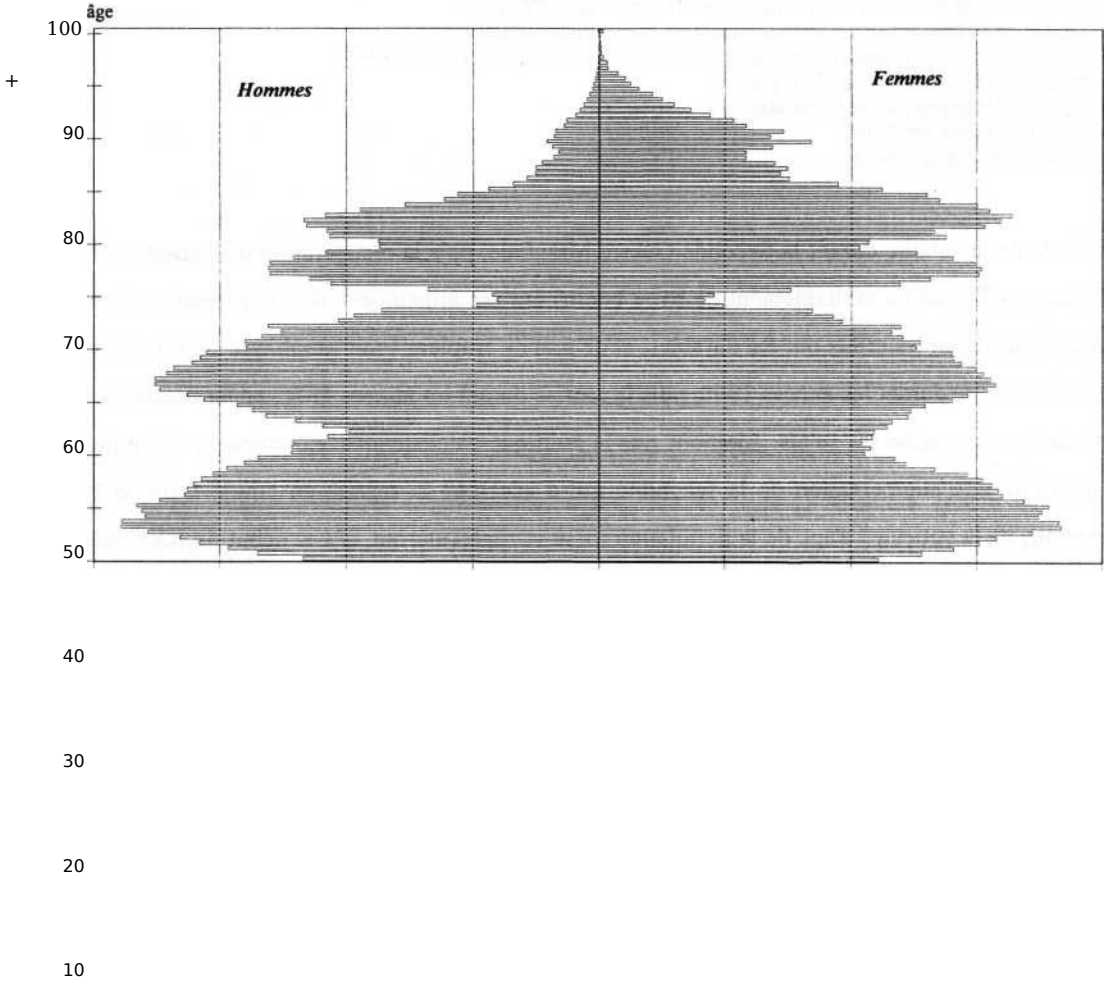
The fall in the birth rate during the Second World War, then the recovery of births after the conflict (without there being really a baby boom) also led to the formation of demographic "waves" whose effects were lasting. , and of great magnitude (see graph 2). This is how the decline in the birth rate during the 1960s, then the recovery during the 1970s, appear as "echoes" of the war and its aftermath. Let us add that the pronatalist policy implemented at the beginning of the 1980s led to an increase in fertility which accentuated the current recovery. In the future, the distortions in the age structure of the Russian population will have repercussions, from the beginning of the 21st century with the massive entry into the labor market of generations born during the 1980s, which will be followed by around ten years later, by the retirements of generations born during the 1950s. The first of these phenomena could give rise to social unrest, the second could cause the social insurance system to explode.

Graph 3. Age pyramid of the population on January 1, 1994 according to type of residence

A: Urban population.



B : Population rurale.



	Total population			Urban population			Rural population		
	Sex male	Sex feminine	Both sexes	Sex male	Sex feminine	Both sexes	Sex male	Sex feminine	Both sexes
0-19 years	32.6	27.6	29.9	32.2	27.3	29.6	33.6	28.2	30.7
20-59 years old	57.3	52.6	54.8	58.2	54.5	56.2	54.9	47.3	50.9
60 years and over	10.1	19.9	15.3	9.6	18.2	14.2	11.5	24.5	18.4
Together	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Taking into account the legal retirement ages, which differ according to sex [9], 25% of women and 10% of men had reached retirement age in 1989, or 18% of the entire Russian population, the coefficient demographic burden (number of people having reached retirement age per 100 people of working age) thus standing at 28.

1.1. Birth, mortality and natural increase

The excess of births over deaths has long been the main source of population growth in Russia, with migration playing only a marginal role. Until the mid-1970s, net migration was negative; it then becomes positive, without however exceeding, except exceptionally, a threshold of 2 per thousand inhabitants. This demographic regime has been profoundly modified in recent years: natural increase has been negative since 1992, and the estimated net migration is significantly positive, under the effect of return migration.

Graph 4 and the data in Table 3 make it possible to clarify this evolution. Natural increase, greater than 15 per thousand until the end of the 1950s, then decreased, under the effect of the fall in the birth rate observed between 1958 and 1968 (halving of the crude birth rate), which could compensate for the drop in mortality recorded until the beginning of the 1960s. The rate of natural increase then remained more or less stable, at a little over 5 per thousand, until 1987, the increase in the birth rate making it possible to counterbalance the increase in mortality. From 1988, the double movement of falling birth rates and increasing mortality, particularly pronounced in 1992 and 1993, led to a "drop" in the rate of natural increase, which is now of the order of -5 for a thousand. In absolute numbers, the excess of deaths over births reached 1,863,000 in three years, from 1992 to 1995. This phenomenon had a

In the USSR and currently in Russia, the retirement age is set at 55 for women and 60 for men, except in branches of industry and professions considered dangerous to health where retirement

	Natality	Mortality	Increase natural	Migration*	Rate of growth
1960-1964	20.2	7.5	12.7	-0.9	11.8
1965-1969	14.8	8.0	6.8	-0.9	5.9
1970-1974	15.1	8.9	6.2	-0.6	5.6
1975-1979	15.8	10.2	5.6	1.0	6.6
1980-1984	16.6	11.1	5.5	0.9	6.4
1985-1989	16.3	10.7	5.6	1.6	7.2
1990	13.4	11.2	2.2	1.1	3.4
1991	12.1	11.4	0.7	0.4	1.1
1992	10.7	12.2	-1.5	1.3	-0.2
1993	9.3	14.3	-5.0	3.0	-2.1
1994	9.5	15.5	-6.0	5.6	-0.4

*** - We estimate here the migration balance according to the following formula : S^{e}. = P,. — P-,, n — N + D ; where P,- m _ - la population at the beginning and end of the year, N (- number of births and D (- number**

Movements in birth rates and mortality, and therefore natural increase, depend on the evolution of phenomena (fertility and mortality), but also on the population structure, a reflection of the secular history of the population. The arrival at the age of full fertility of women belonging to the lower classes born during the Second World War thus had a depressive effect on the birth rate. On the other hand, the low proportion of elderly people, and particularly men, in the Russian population, due to the severe losses suffered during the two world conflicts and the Civil War, played a

Population		Age when the proportion of non-singles has reached:			Proportion of singles at age 50 (%)
According to gender	According to the type	25%	50%	75%	
Male	urban	21.44	23.13	26.27	2.70
	rural	21.48	22.15	26.63	4.04
Feminine	urban	19.21	21.03	23.91	3.32
	rural	18.20	19.78	20.20	2.95

Although permanent celibacy is very rare in Russia, the proportion of married women does not exceed 80% in the cities and 87% in the countryside, due to divorce

From census data, the estimate of the average age at first marriage can be made according to the following formula:

$$15 + \frac{\sum_{49}^{50} C_i}{(1 - f\text{-so})}$$

; where Ci, proportion of single people at age i.

11

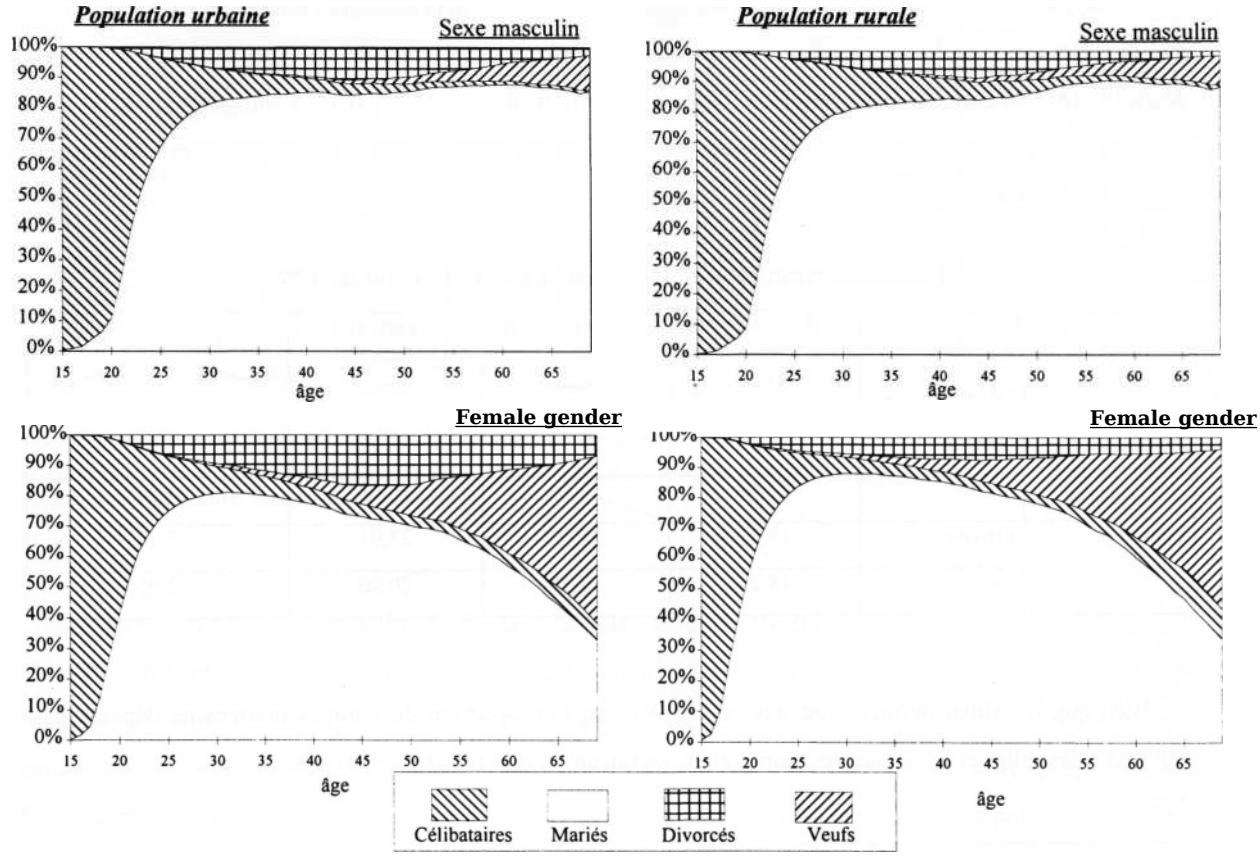
Toltz M., *Marriage of the population of Russia at the end of the 19th century? and at the beginning of the 20th century* (*Epanmcmb Hacenenun Poccuu e* KOHne , Moscow: "Statistika" edition, 1977, p. 140

Cf. Reproduction of the population of the USSR, (*Bocnpou3eodcmeo HaceneHux CCCP)* under the direction of A.Visnevskij and A.Volkov, Moscow: "Finansy i statistika", 1983, p. 206; Darskij L., Il'ina I., - Normalization of marriage in the USSR, (*HopManu3ai{UH ôpanHocmu e CCCP)*- in: Demographic processes in the USSR

More than marriage or procreation, divorce is under the influence of legislation. In Russia, the legislation regarding it has changed several times. Thus, "de facto" marriage had been recognized by the Code of Marriage, Family and Guardianship of 1927, but a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of July 8, 1944 abolished this recognition, and instituted a new divorce procedure so complicated that it can be considered a ban on divorce. This change in legislation caused a wave of marriages and a drop in divorces. On the other hand, the decrees of December 10, 1965 and January 18, 1966 had simplified divorce and the proportion of marriages ending in divorce increased from one in four to one in three.

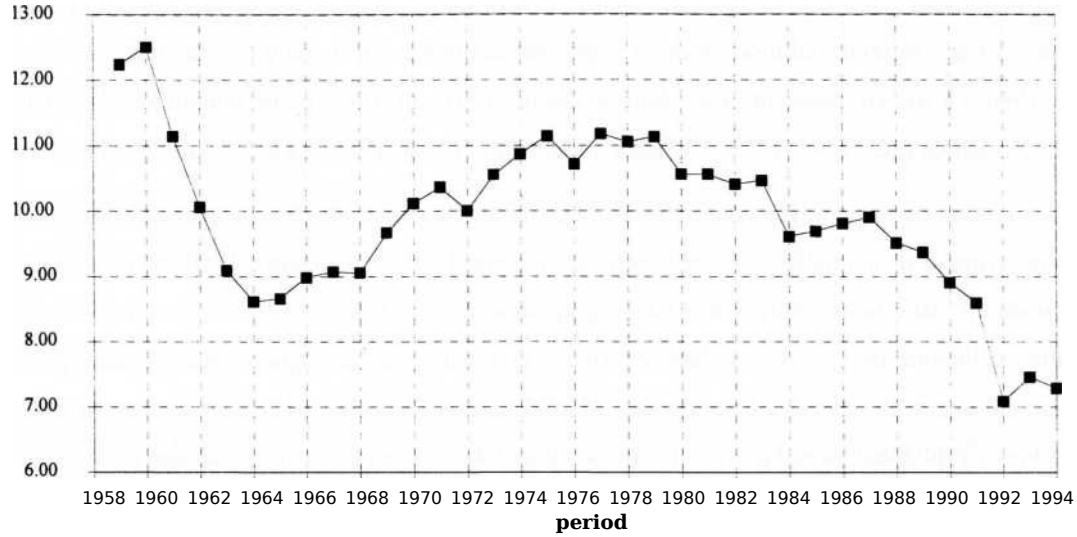
The structure of the population according to marital status is also strongly influenced by excess male mortality. From the age of 30 or 35, the risks of

Figure 5. Marital status by sex and type of residence of the population of Russia according to 1989 census



The evolution of the number of marriages over the last three decades has been very irregular. After the brutal fall of 1960-1964, we observed a long period of increase, followed, from 1977, by a decrease. Over the last six years, the decline in the number of marriages has become more pronounced: from 1987 to 1992, the annual number of marriages fell by 30%, but in 1993 the fall stopped (see graph 6). .

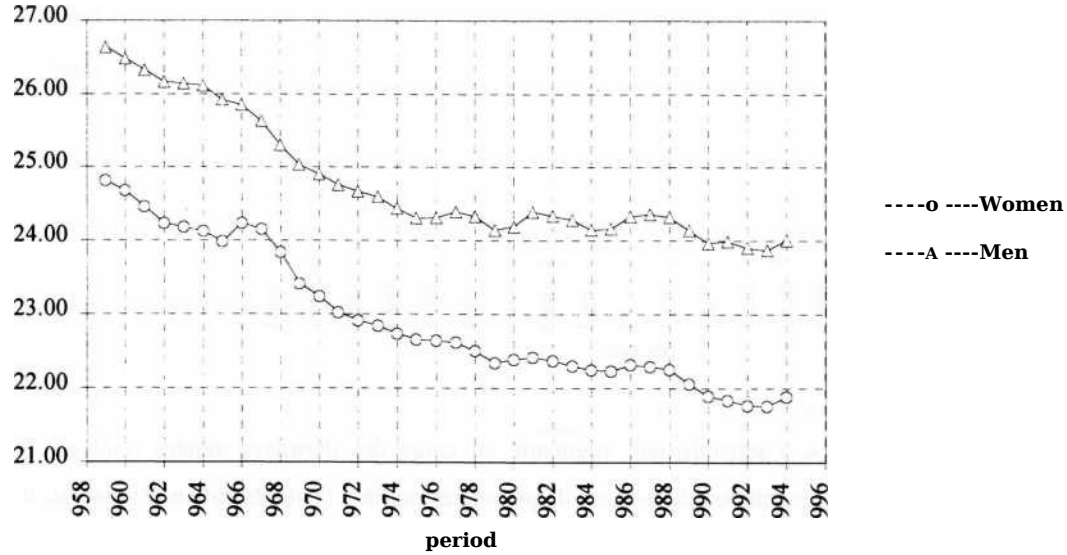
Figure 6. Crude marriage rate in Russia, 1959-1994 (per 1000 inhabitants)

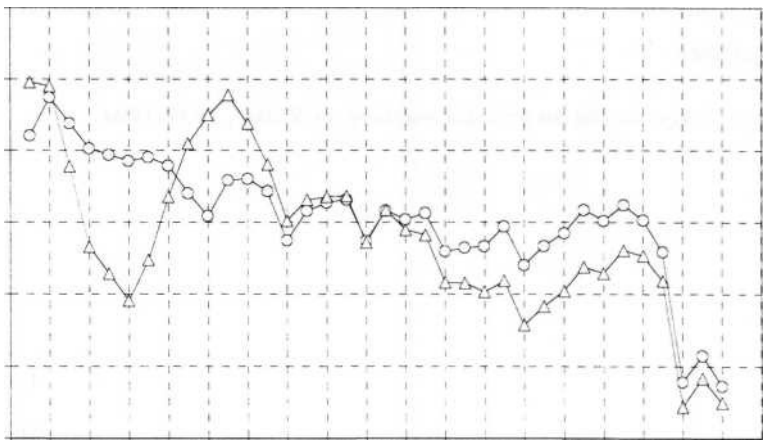


The irregular evolution of marriage rates in Russia between 1959 and 1993 is due to distortions in the age structure caused by the Second World War. But this structural effect is only one element added to the general trend, determined by two factors: the younger age at first marriage and the aging of the population.

The younger age at marriage is a major trend in recent developments in marriage rates. Since 1959, the average age at first marriage has increased from 25 to 22 for women, and from 27 to 24 for men (graph 7). The phenomenon is more accentuated among women, particularly in the countryside. After 1969, the rejuvenation of male marriage rates slowed down, and was even almost interrupted at the end of the 1970s. But female marriage rates tended to become younger, until today. Given these differentiated developments, the gap between the average age of men at first marriage and that of women tends to increase.

Chart 7. Average age at first marriage in Russia, 1959-1994





o --Women

^ ---Men

period

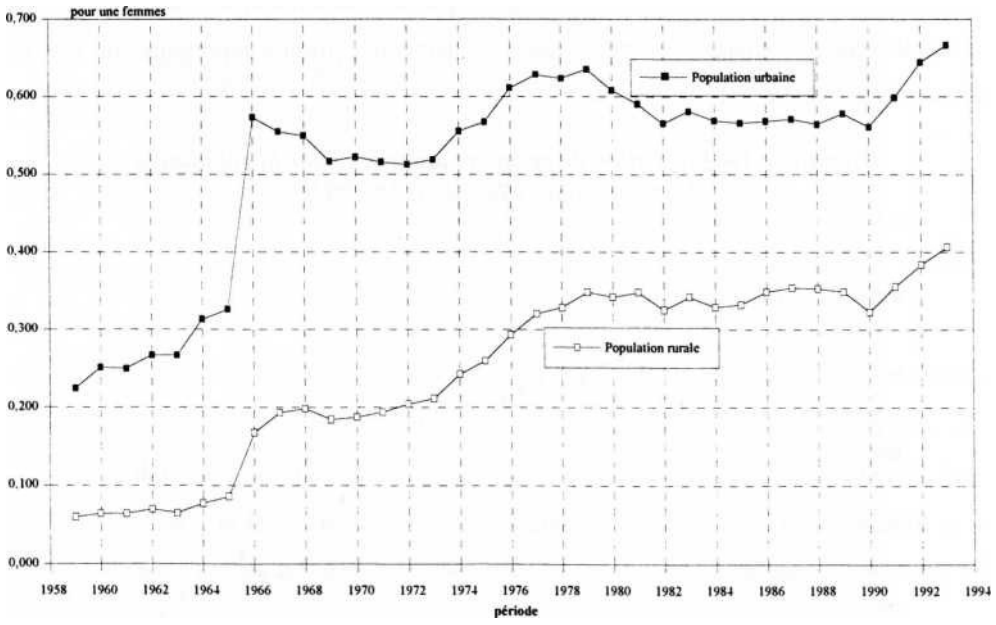
The crude divorce rate has increased significantly in recent years (table 5), not only due to the increase in the number of married people (structural effect) but above all due to changes in behavior.

Year	Crude marriage rate	Crude divorce rate	Divorces per 1,000 marriages
1959	12.3	1.4	113
1965	8.7	1.8	211
1970	10.1	3.0	301
1975	11.1	3.6	323
1980	10.6	4.2	396
1985	9.7	4.0	412
1990	8.7	3.8	437
1991	8.4	4.0	477
1992	7.4	4.3	581
1993	7.5	4.5	600
1994	7.3	4.6	630

The total divorce rate indicator calculated by relating divorces to the number of marriage cohorts from which they come, gives the measure of these changes. The frequency of divorces has in fact increased by 25% since the beginning of the 1990s, reaching 50% in 1993 (one marriage in two ends in divorce).

The sum of divorce rates by age gives a slightly different measure of divorce, since it relates divorces to married or unmarried populations (single, widowed or divorced). It corresponds to an average number of divorces per person, and therefore does not express a frequency of marriage breakdown through divorce. However, this index can be calculated for urban or rural populations, whereas calculating the short-term indicator for the two sub-populations would give biased results, taking into account

Figure 9. Sum of divorce rates by age (Russia , 1959-1994)

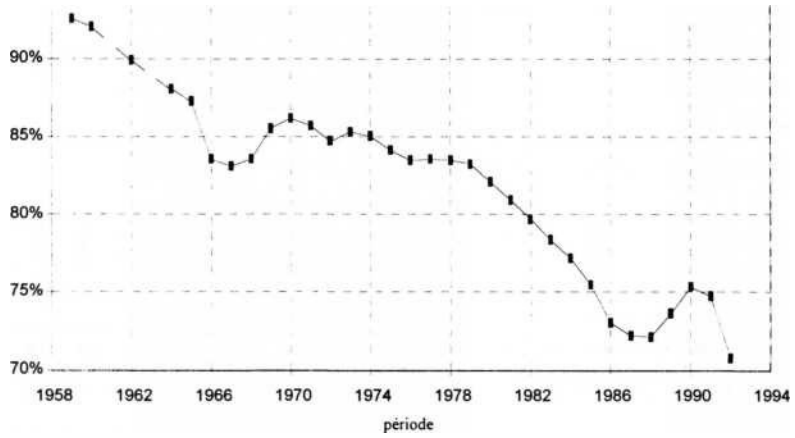


The sum of divorce rates by age is slightly higher among men than among women, for the entire population, but this gap masks a significant divergence between

Groups age	Urban population				Rural population			
	1965	1975	1985	1993	1965	1975	1985	1993
Minus 20	1%	3%	3%	4%	2%	5%	2%	6%
20-24	23%	17%	18%	22%	26%	25%	23%	26%
25-29	27%	24%	22%	23%	30%	28%	25%	21%
30-34	21%	21%	18%	17%	20%	18%	19%	17%
35-39	13%	16%	14%	13%	13%	12%	13%	13%
40 and over	15%	20%	24%	20%	10%	12%	15%	18%

Although divorces are numerous, they do not cause a very significant reduction in the level of general marriage rates, because remarriages also tend to increase, to the point of representing a little more than one marriage in four (graph 10).

Figure 10. Proportion of first marriages for the female population (Russia, 1959-1993)



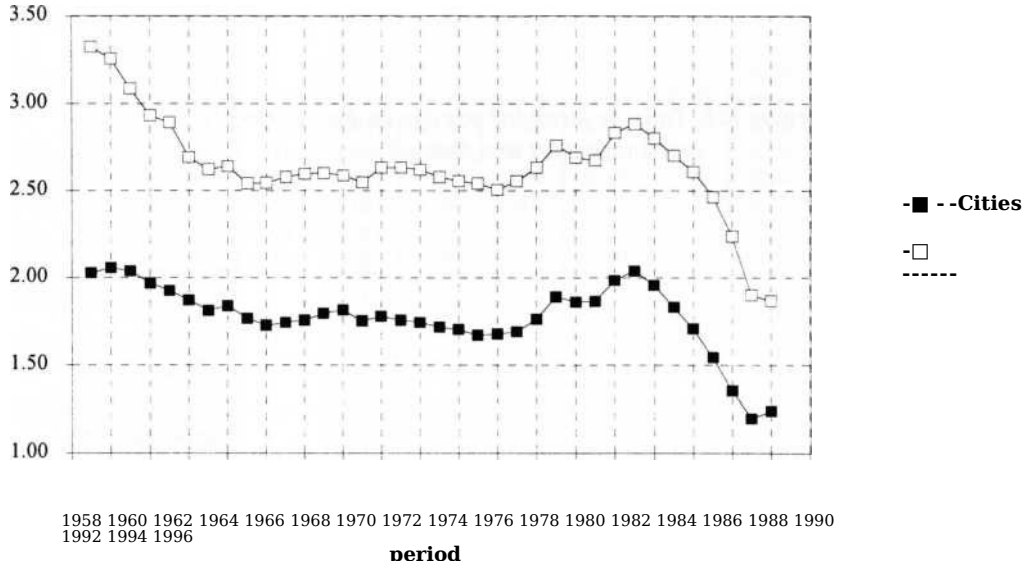
These observations on marriage and divorce in Russia raise the question of whether the Russian model of marriage is very different from the European model.

in a sense, the universality of marriage and its precocity clearly define a particular model. But on the other hand, early divorces and frequent remarriages suggest a model of family formation that is perhaps not so far removed from the European model. Indeed, could we not see in this marital instability, the refusal of an unsuitable institution, a refusal comparable to that which gave rise to the development of juvenile cohabitation in Western Europe? If this were the case, we could expect a significant decline in marriage rates.

1.4. Fertility, abortions and family planning

Fertility in Russia, throughout the period covered by the data presented here, was one of the lowest among the republics of the former USSR, and at certain times (for example in 1968-1970) it had been one of the lowest in Europe. The distinction between urban population and rural population is essential here. In Russian cities, fertility does not ensure simple replacement of the population throughout the observation period: 1.89 during the years 1959-1969, 1.75 for 1970-1979 and 1.86 for

Figure 11. Total fertility index in Russia 1959-1994 (birth to a woman)



During the years 1959-1990, the slow and continuous decline in fertility was interrupted twice due to family policy interventions. The first series of measures, in the early 1970s, had almost negligible effects, but the second in 1983-1987 had much greater effects. Since 1987, fertility has declined very rapidly. Initially, this fall was a repercussion of the increase caused by pronatalist measures, but this movement was undoubtedly reinforced by the economic and social crisis.

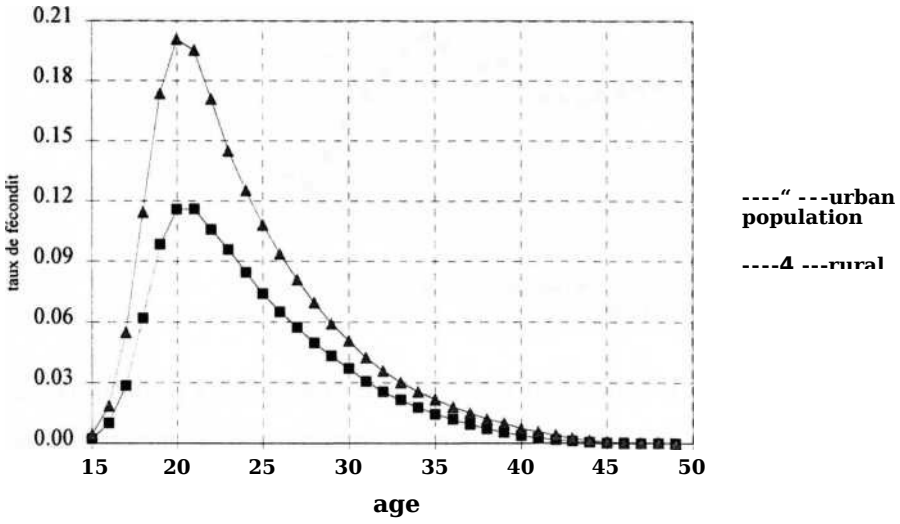
A more detailed description is presented in: A.Avdeev and A.Monnier "Discovering contemporary Russian fertility", *Population* , 1994, no. 4-5, vol. 49:859-902.

. — Cities

-- Campaign

1958 1960 1962 1964 1966 1968 1970 1972 1974 1976 1978 1980 1982 1984 1986
1988 1990 1992 1994 1996

Figure 12b. Age-specific fertility rate in Russia 1993 (birth to a woman)



The rejuvenation of marriage rates and fertility which has taken place in Russia in recent decades could lead to a situation where families of four or even five generations coexist and even sometimes cohabit, of which only one is of working age

14 **The retirement age in Russia is 55 for women and 60 for men.**

Type of residence	Indian	this synt	tick of	econdit	accordin	eng	Average age at motherhood by birth order						ISFd-6)
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	
Population	urban												
1978	0.943	0.606	0.105	0.025	0.015	0.005	23.48	28.03	31.07	32.71	34.45	35.46	1,695
1979	0.935	0.586	0.095	0.025	0.015	0.005	23.35	27.95	30.93	32.55	34.28	35.38	1,661
1980	0.935	0.598	0.095	0.023	0.014	0.005	23.35	27.85	30.83	32.44	34.13	35.38	1,661
nineteen-eighty-one	0.917	0.625	0.105	0.023	0.014	0.004	23.37	27.87	30.77	32.33	33.99	35.18	1,672
1982	0.914	0.675	0.125	0.025	0.014	0.005	23.39	27.76	30.83	32.33	33.99	34.91	1,711
1983	0.937	0.763	0.147	0.037	0.015	0.005	23.38	27.71	30.81	32.25	33.87	34.97	1,856
1984	0.943	0.714	0.147	0.036	0.015	0.005	23.36	27.72	30.82	32.15	33.76	34.82	1,825
1985	0.943	0.707	0.158	0.036	0.015	0.005	23.33	27.61	30.76	32.13	33.75	34.51	1,816
1986	0.965	0.775	0.189	0.036	0.015	0.005	23.33	27.74	30.84	32.22	33.66	34.66	1,905
1987	0.985	0.796	0.199	0.046	0.014	0.005	23.36	27.71	30.96	32.44	33.78	34.68	2.027
1988	0.995	0.736	0.178	0.035	0.015	0.006	23.33	27.66	30.93	32.33	33.63	34.86	1,909
1989	0.983	0.645	0.146	0.036	0.015	0.005	23.33	27.55	30.84	32.22	33.84	34.75	1,810
1990	0.965	0.568	0.126	0.025	0.013	0.005	23.33	27.44	30.75	32.33	33.78	34.74	1,722
1991	0.925	0.475	0.105	0.025	0.013	0.005	22.66	27.31	30.66	32.15	33.65	34.52	1,550
1992	0.853	0.385	0.085	0.025	0.005	0.004	22.55	27.36	30.55	32.23	33.63	34.73	1,362
1993	0.785	0.325	0.065	0.015	0.005	0.004	22.55	27.36	30.55	32.23	33.58	34.82	1,171
1994	0.815	0.335	0.063	0.015	0.005	0.002	22.88	27.43	30.55	32.14	33.37	34.53	1,236
Population	urban												
1978	0.943	0.606	0.105	0.025	0.015	0.005	23.48	28.03	31.07	32.71	34.45	35.46	1,695
1979	0.935	0.586	0.095	0.025	0.015	0.005	23.35	27.95	30.93	32.55	34.28	35.38	1,661
1980	0.935	0.598	0.095	0.023	0.014	0.005	23.35	27.85	30.83	32.44	34.13	35.38	1,661
nineteen-eighty-one	0.917	0.625	0.105	0.023	0.014	0.004	23.37	27.87	30.77	32.33	33.99	35.18	1,672
1982	0.914	0.675	0.125	0.025	0.014	0.005	23.39	27.76	30.83	32.33	33.99	34.91	1,711
1983	0.937	0.763	0.147	0.037	0.015	0.005	23.38	27.71	30.81	32.25	33.87	34.97	1,856
1984	0.943	0.714	0.147	0.036	0.015	0.005	23.36	27.72	30.82	32.15	33.76	34.82	1,825
1985	0.943	0.707	0.158	0.036	0.015	0.005	23.33	27.61	30.76	32.13	33.75	34.51	1,816
1986	0.965	0.775	0.189	0.036	0.015	0.005	23.33	27.74	30.84	32.22	33.66	34.66	1,905
1987	0.985	0.796	0.199	0.046	0.014	0.005	23.36	27.71	30.96	32.44	33.78	34.68	2.027
1988	0.995	0.736	0.178	0.035	0.015	0.006	23.33	27.66	30.93	32.33	33.63	34.86	1,909
1989	0.983	0.645	0.146	0.036	0.015	0.005	23.33	27.55	30.84	32.22	33.84	34.75	1,810
1990	0.965	0.568	0.126	0.025	0.013	0.005	23.33	27.44	30.75	32.33	33.78	34.74	1,722
1991	0.925	0.475	0.105	0.025	0.013	0.005	22.66	27.31	30.66	32.15	33.65	34.52	1,550
1992	0.853	0.385	0.085	0.025	0.005	0.004	22.55	27.36	30.55	32.23	33.63	34.73	1,362
1993	0.785	0.325	0.065	0.015	0.005	0.004	22.55	27.36	30.55	32.23	33.58	34.82	1,171
1994	0.815	0.335	0.063	0.015	0.005	0.002	22.88	27.43	30.55	32.14	33.37	34.53	1,236

Fertility is fairly homogeneous in the countryside as in the cities. In urban areas, most births are first or second order; in the countryside, third and even fourth births are quite common. Calculations of the total fertility index by birth order (Table 7) show that the decline in fertility between 1987 and 1991 consisted of a significant reduction in births of order two and above. During this period, first-order fertility, in the countryside, even increased, from 1.03 children per woman in 1987 to 1.15 in 1990; but from 1991, it decreased. Note that these indicator values greater than 1 are the sign of an increasingly precocious arrival of first-order children: in the absence of a rejuvenation of first-order fertility, it would obviously be impossible for there is more than one first child per woman. In cities, this rejuvenation is also observed (values very close to 1 are observed) but it is undoubtedly less pronounced.

Year	Average age at first	Interval protogenetic	Average birth interval				
			1-2	1-3	1-4	1-5	1-6
Urban population							
1978	22.67	8.73	27.71	30.67	27.93	26.52	24.12
1979	22.50	10.16	27.63	30.31	27.59	26.24	23.88
1980	22.51	9.45	27.37	30.31	27.41	25.95	23.57
nineteen eighty	22.53	9.20	27.12	29.84	27.10	25.46	23.42
1982	22.50	9.42	27.02	30.13	27.06	25.60	23.39
1983	22.44	9.80	27.18	30.25	26.99	25.39	23.01
1984	22.40	9.74	26.97	30.36	26.83	24.87	22.59
1985	22.41	9.74	26.57	29.99	26.78	24.74	22.89
1986	22.51	9.06	26.68	30.39	26.94	25.00	22.83
1987	22.50	8.75	26.89	30.83	27.57	25.17	23.27
1988	22.47	9.05	26.44	30.85	27.35	25.05	23.06
1989	22.27	10.18	26.36	30.88	27.47	25.62	23.23
1990	22.10	10.69	26.69	30.99	27.95	25.81	23.17
1991	22.05	10.91	26.45	30.73	27.66	25.76	23.56
1992	21.96	12.15	26.16	30.47	27.68	25.69	23.90
1993	21.95	11.69	26.48	30.56	27.82	25.39	23.19
1994	22.08	9.58	27.32	30.69	27.77	25.18	23.29
1978	22.04	1.81	23.89	29.18	28.41	28.01	25.68
1979	21.88	2.37	23.76	29.05	28.54	28.15	25.81
1980	22.02	0.29	23.40	28.85	28.00	27.97	25.86
nineteen eighty	22.11	0.78	22.82	28.43	27.62	27.63	25.51
1982	22.10	0.91	22.37	28.38	27.64	27.10	25.26
1983	22.00	1.23	22.93	29.03	27.72	27.11	25.32
1984	21.91	1.85	22.74	29.00	27.77	26.99	25.30
1985	21.81	2.21	22.77	29.21	27.88	27.00	25.24
1986	21.82	1.93	23.55	30.28	28.60	27.50	25.51
1987	21.72	2.45	23.79	30.85	29.15	27.93	25.75
1988	21.60	2.59	23.63	30.68	29.25	27.99	25.83
1989	21.39	3.12	23.41	30.62	29.21	28.25	26.23
1990	21.24	3.43	23.37	30.51	29.57	28.45	26.27
1991	21.25	3.25	22.61	30.14	29.20	27.90	26.27
1992	21.25	4.03	22.08	29.51	28.88	27.97	26.28
1993	21.27	3.89	22.12	29.12	28.69	27.51	26.27
1994	21.36	2.79	22.90	29.19	28.84	27.35	25.99

Rural population

From 1988, the total fertility indicator (all birth orders) fell; between 1987 and 1993, the reduction was 40% in the city, and a third in the countryside. But, depending on the birth order, the date of the trend reversal and the extent of the decrease vary. The drop in first births was in fact a little later, one year in the city, three years in the countryside. And, from the first to the third birth, the extent of the decline increases: -21%, -59% and -68% in the city, -18%, -37% and -5% in the countryside. It should be noted, however, that the increase in fertility at the

	Age in completed years at the 1989 census						
	20	25	30	35	40	50	All ages
without children	72.8%	26.5%	13.2%	9.2%	8.4%	8.7%	21.8%
1 child	24.7%	47.1%	34.4%	30.0%	32.7%	32.2%	29.0%
2 children	2.4%	23.7%	44.0%	48.2%	47.2%	45.3%	33.7%
3 children	0.1%	2.3%	6.9%	9.9%	8.9%	10.0%	9.1%
4 children	0.0%	0.3%	1.1%	1.7%	1.6%	2.1%	2.9%
5 children	0.0%	0.1%	0.3%	0.7%	0.7%	0.9%	1.6%
6 and up	0.0%	0.1%	0.2%	0.4%	0.5%	0.7%	1.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
without children	56.9%	16.4%	8.0%	5.9%	5.8%	6.1%	16.4%
1 child	35.3%	35.5%	18.2%	14.5%	14.9%	12.3%	16.9%
2 children	7.1%	37.8%	46.9%	43.1%	42.1%	34.6%	28.6%
3 children	0.6%	8.3%	18.6%	22.2%	21.0%	22.8%	16.6%
4 children	0.1%	1.6%	5.2%	7.2%	6.9%	9.4%	8.0%
5 children	0.0%	0.3%	2.0%	4.0%	4.8%	7.1%	5.6%
6 and up	0.0%	0.1%	1.1%	3.0%	4.5%	7.6%	8.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
without children	69.3%	24.1%	12.0%	8.5%	7.9%	8.0%	20.4%
1 child	27.0%	44.2%	30.7%	26.7%	29.3%	27.1%	25.9%
2 children	3.4%	27.1%	44.7%	47.1%	46.3%	42.6%	32.4%
3 children	0.2%	3.8%	9.6%	12.5%	11.2%	13.3%	11.0%
4 children	0.0%	0.6%	2.0%	2.9%	2.6%	4.0%	4.2%
5 children	0.0%	0.1%	0.7%	1.4%	1.5%	2.5%	2.6%
6 and up	0.0%	0.1%	0.4%	0.9%	1.2%	2.4%	3.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Urban population

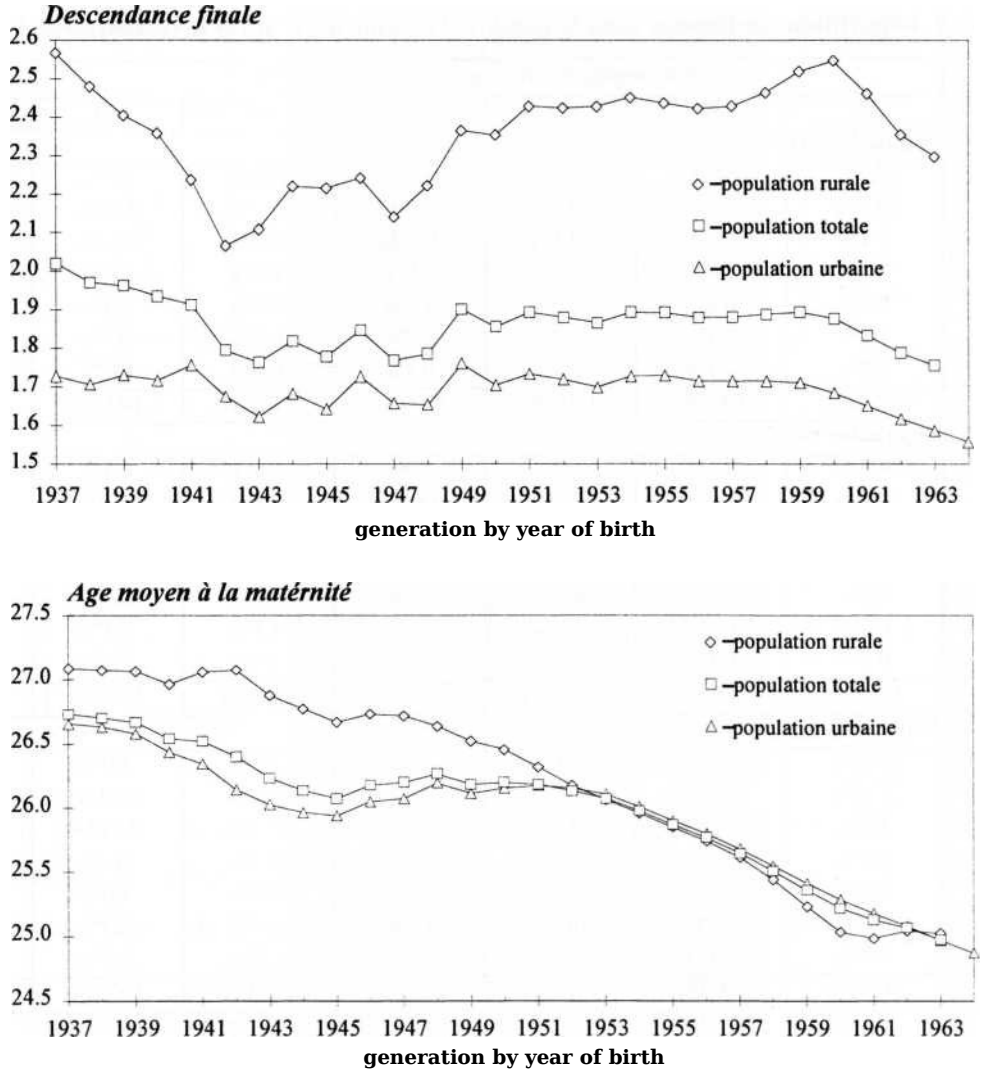
Rural population

Total population

[15] Cf.J.Bongaarts - "A Framework for Analizing the Proximate Determinants of Fertility", *Population and Development Review,* vol. 4, no. 1, March 1978, p. 115.

The analysis of generational fertility also shows a continuing trend towards a rejuvenation of motherhood against a background of almost stable final fertility, in cities and for Russia as a whole (graph 13) [16]. But in the rural population, there is an increase in completed fertility which probably reflects a selection effect caused by rural emigration. It was in fact childless women, or those with the fewest children, who left the villages for the cities while those with more children undoubtedly emigrated less. And by becoming city dwellers, women from the countryside, who did not export their "bucolic" way of life to the cities, did not cause an increase in fertility in the cities; at most they perhaps delayed the decline observed in the generations born after 1960. This general point of view on the fertility of generations imposes the idea that Russia entered, even before the Second World War, in a demographic regime that no longer ensures generational renewal.

Figure 13. Completed fertility and average age at motherhood of female



The calculations were carried out by JPSardon from civil status according to the "freezing" rate method (ATi) for generations which have not yet passed the childbearing age. The calculations carried out with a combined method (from civil status and census data) are presented in: A.Avdeev and A.Monnier. *op.cit.*

The low level of Russian fertility and its precocity, that is to say the fact that it is concentrated at young ages, reflect the extent of voluntary birth control. As the practice of contraception remained very rare until the mid-1980s, it was mainly through the use of abortion, the frequency of which is one of the highest in the world, that women limited their progeny. This situation was undoubtedly a significant factor in maintaining early fertility: women and couples preferred to give birth to their children just after marriage, then resort to abortion once the desired family size was achieved.

Three dates are crucial in the institutional history of abortion: 1920, liberalization, 1936, ban on abortion and 1955, new liberalization. Over the past 75 years, abortion has therefore been legal for more than fifty-five years. No other country has had such a long liberal experience in matters of abortion, which gives birth prevention in Russia a very special character.

In the mid-1960s, there were up to 5.4 million abortions, including 4.5 million voluntary legal abortions and 900 thousand so-called "incomplete" abortions, which included spontaneous abortions and illegal abortions resulting in complications requiring hospitalization of the mother. At the beginning of the 1970s, the number of legal abortions still stood at 4 million, i.e. a total abortion rate (sum of abortion rates by age) greater than 4 abortions per woman. This index then decreased, due to the massive diffusion of IUDs during the 1980s, then the availability of contraceptive pills at the end of the 1980s, but it still reached 2.6 abortions per woman in 1992, i.e. the highest value in the world.

Overall, we can say that Russia entered the contraceptive revolution about twenty years after European countries, and we still know little about the practice of modern contraception. From 1955 to 1982, only the total number of abortions was known, to which was added, from 1982, the number of IUDs inserted each year, and from 1987, the number of users of the pill. But there is still no information on the use of traditional methods and condoms.

In the absence of complete observations on the practice of contraception, the use of a model made it possible to estimate the proportion of married women, between 15 and 49 years old, using contraception in 1988 at approximately 40%, taking into account observed fertility and the number of abortions. This estimate was confirmed by a survey by Goscomstat, the Central Statistical Office, carried out in 1990 among

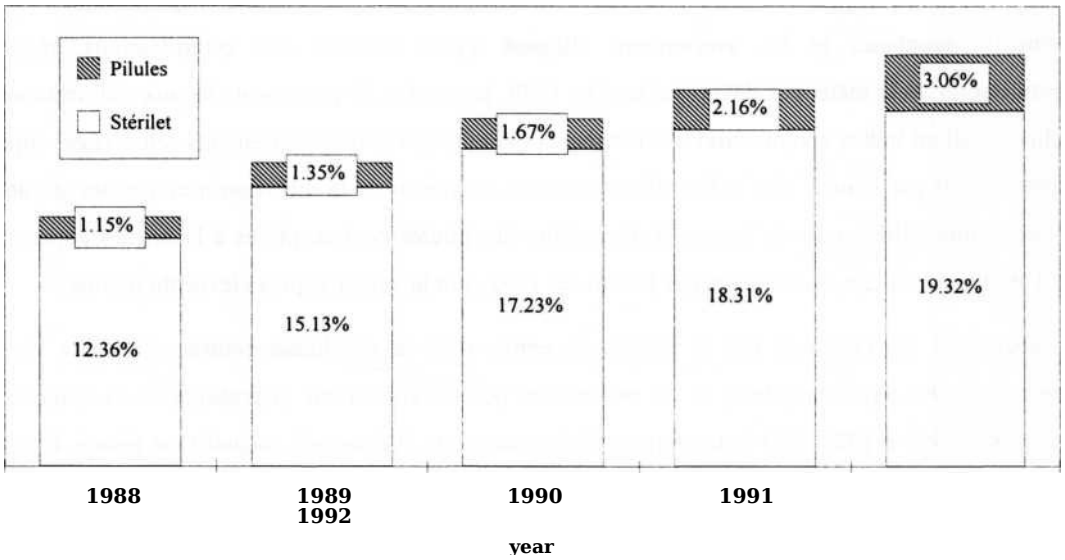
Trends and history of abortion statistics in Russia and the USSR are described in: A.Avdeev, A.Blum and I.Troïtskaja "History of abortion statistics in Russia and the USSR until 1991", *Population,* 1994, n° 4-5, vol. 49: ^09-935.

Cf. Avdeev A., Troitskaja I. "Intermediate determinants of fertility in the USSR" in *Family and family policy* ed. A.Vishnevskiy (npoMeacyroHHbie aeTepMHHaHTbi po^caaeMOCTH B **CCCP** B **c6.** "CeMbfl H ceMeHHaa noJiHTHKa" non **pen.A.BmuHeBCKoro), Moscow, 1991;and *Vestnik statistiki,* 1991, No. 8, p.**

or 80% of women aged 15 to 49. With such a level, the number of abortions should be lower or else contraception in Russia is completely ineffective!

The available data also confirm what was suggested by observations relating to the marriage and fertility calendar and in particular the average ages at birth of successive ranks. The birth control model prevailing in Russia favors simple to use and very effective methods, implemented after the birth of the last desired child: abortion, IUD and, in the future, probably contraceptive sterilization. Indeed, in 1992, 22% of women aged 15 to 49 used modern contraceptive methods (3% pill and 19% IUD) and 8% had recourse to voluntary termination of pregnancy. Note that the proportion of users of the pill or IUD has almost doubled since 1988 (graph 14), while during the same time the rate of legal abortions per 1,000 women aged 15 to 49 has

Figure 14. Proportion of women aged 15 to 49 using IUDs and pills (%), Russia, 1988-1992



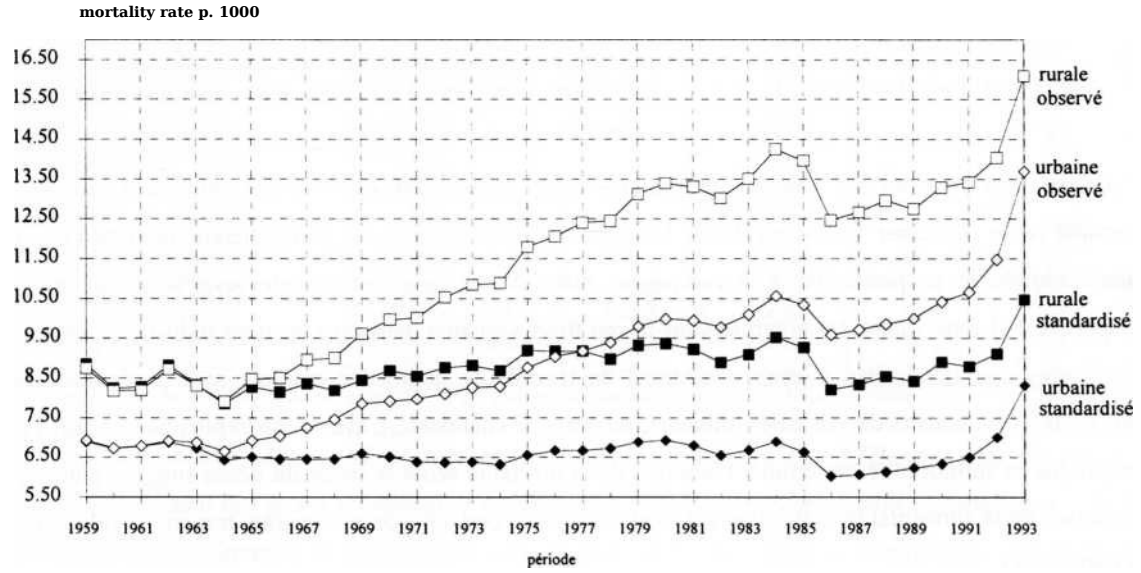
Voluntary sterilization was only authorized by the Ministry of Public Health in December 1990 and is subject to conditions, under the terms of Decree No. 484 of December 14, 1990: 1) women must have three children; or 2) two children and be over 30 years old; or finally 3) be over 40 years old. This text only concerns female sterilization, and it has not been widely applied. More recently, the “Framework Law on Public Health” of July 22, 1993 expanded the conditions for voluntary sterilization, now accessible to both men and women with two children or over 35 years of age. We do not have information on the number of sterilizations carried out in application of this text, but, taking into account the time required for the training of nursing staff, this number should not be very high.

1.6. Mortality, life expectancy at birth

The evolution of mortality in Russia over the last three decades appears quite

1980, reflects not only the aging of the population, a typical phenomenon of the last phase of the demographic transition, but also a real worsening of mortality. Graph 15, which shows the crude and comparative mortality rates for cities and the countryside, clearly illustrates this double trend. Between 1959 and 1984, the crude mortality rate recorded a sharp increase in the countryside (around six points, or 70%) and in the cities (more than three points, or 50%), but the real evolution of mortality , excluding the aging of the population, is more moderate. The comparative rate in fact shows what the evolution of mortality would have been in the absence of changes in the structure of the population according to age: increase of around one and a half points in the countryside, stagnation in the cities. In total, for Russia as a

Figure 15. Comparison of crude mortality rates by type of residence, observed (obs) and

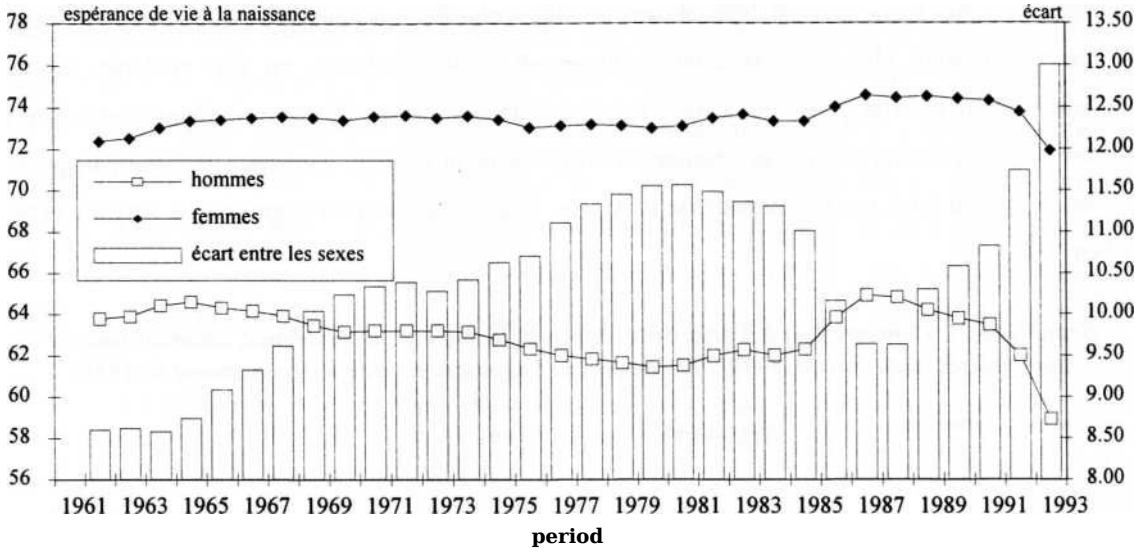


It should also be noted that mortality is much higher in the countryside than in the cities, and that the gap, far from decreasing, has rather increased. Since 1985, cyclical factors have interfered with the trend in mortality. Gorbachev's alcohol prohibition measures in 1985 led to an immediate and significant decline in mortality, but were unable to reverse deep-seated mortality trends. The end of the 1980s thus saw a resumption of the increase, the level of mortality remaining however significantly lower than that of 1984. Since 1992, finally, a sudden worsening of mortality has been observed, which probably reflects a deterioration in the health situation.

Life expectancy at birth has not recorded any progress since 1959, and it has even decreased (graph 16). Today it is the lowest in Europe. The ten-year averages changed from 64.1 years for men during the 1960s to 62.7 during the following

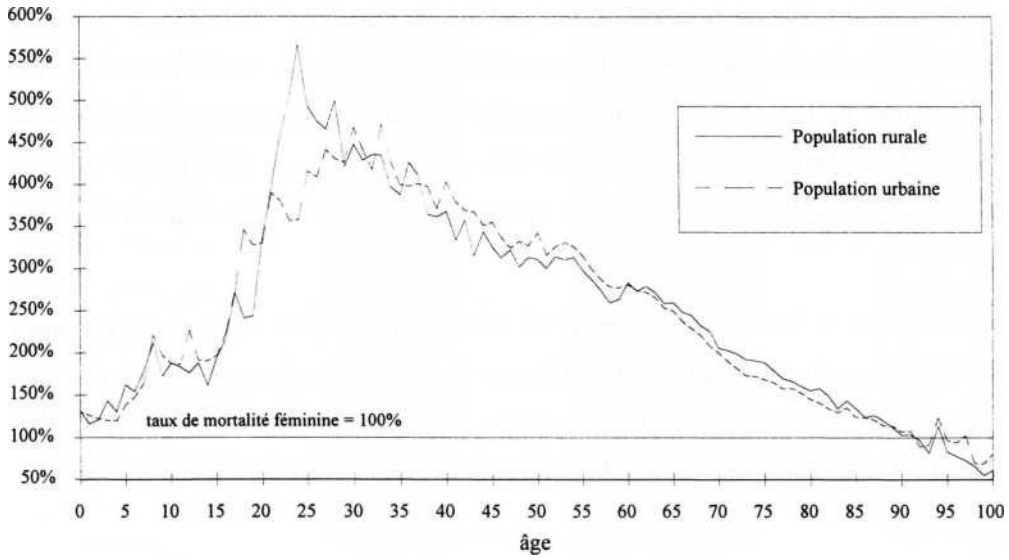
73.7 and finally 71.1. The fall in life expectancy at birth has therefore been more brutal for men.

Figure 16. Average life expectancy at birth and gender gap in Russia (1961-1993)



The enormous gap between the average lives of men and women is one of the characteristics of Russian mortality. It reached 13 years in 1993. Excess male mortality is particularly high among young adults, and particularly in the countryside, but it remains significant until old age (graph 17). Without doubt, men are, in Russia as in all industrial countries, subject to specific risks linked to their working conditions (many jobs are particularly dangerous: vehicle drivers, miners, construction site workers, etc.) , but this explanation is not enough to explain excess male mortality. The analysis of mortality according to the cause of death suggests rather that the causes of excess male mortality also lie in certain male behaviors

Figure 17. Excess male mortality in Russia 1993 (ratio between male and female mortality rates in %)



Years and sex	Causes of death						
	All causes	Diseases infectious and parasitic *(chapter I)*	Cancers *(chapter II)*	Diseases of the device circulatory *(chapter VII)*	Diseases of the device respiratory (*chapter VIII)*	Diseases of the device digestive *(chapter IX)*	Accidents, suicides and homicide *(chapter XVII)*
Men							
1970	1,682.2	57.8	286.3	789.9	195.6	44.3	239.9
1980	1,868.2	38.7	283.9	943.3	183.6	53.6	294.9
1985	1,776.6	30.3	296.0	928.3	154.7	50.1	238.1
1990	1,692.0	22.0	317.8	863.5	117.2	44.1	228.5
1991	1,705.2	21.9	318.8	855.5	109.4	44.2	242.4
1992	1,815.5	24.6	319.0	881.8	113.4	50.1	293.7
1993	2,164.0	32.6	324.0	1,047.5	145.6	58.1	381.9
Women							
1980	904.2	14.4	145.8	538.4	89.0	21.3	51.2
1985	955.4	11.3	135.3	607.6	70.3	22.1	67.8
1990	942.9	9.0	135.0	614.7	54.1	22.1	60.3
1991	893.5	5.9	142.8	561.1	38.0	21.6	55.9
1992	891.3	5.7	142.8	548.8	34.8	21.4	58.3
1993	920.9	5.6	144.2	553.1	34.0	23.2	69.2
	1,050.5	7.4	143.9	634.0	40.8	26.2	91.0

Source **: CIS demographic directory. 1993. Edition of the Statkomitet of the CIS, Moscow, 1995. p. 171**

In the working age population, the structure of causes of death is very different. Among men, 45% of deaths are accidental or violent, 30% from cardiovascular diseases and 13% from tumors. Among women, in 1993, the ranking of causes of death was comparable: deaths by trauma or poisoning came in first place (38%), followed by diseases of the circulatory system (28%), then tumors (24%).

In recent years, mortality from injuries and poisonings increased by 84% for women and 72% for men from 1990 to 1993; during the same period, mortality from diseases of the circulatory system increased by 50%, for both men and women, and from infectious and parasitic diseases by a little more than 60% (62% for women and 66% for men). Finally, male mortality from diseases of the digestive system increased by the same proportion (table 11).

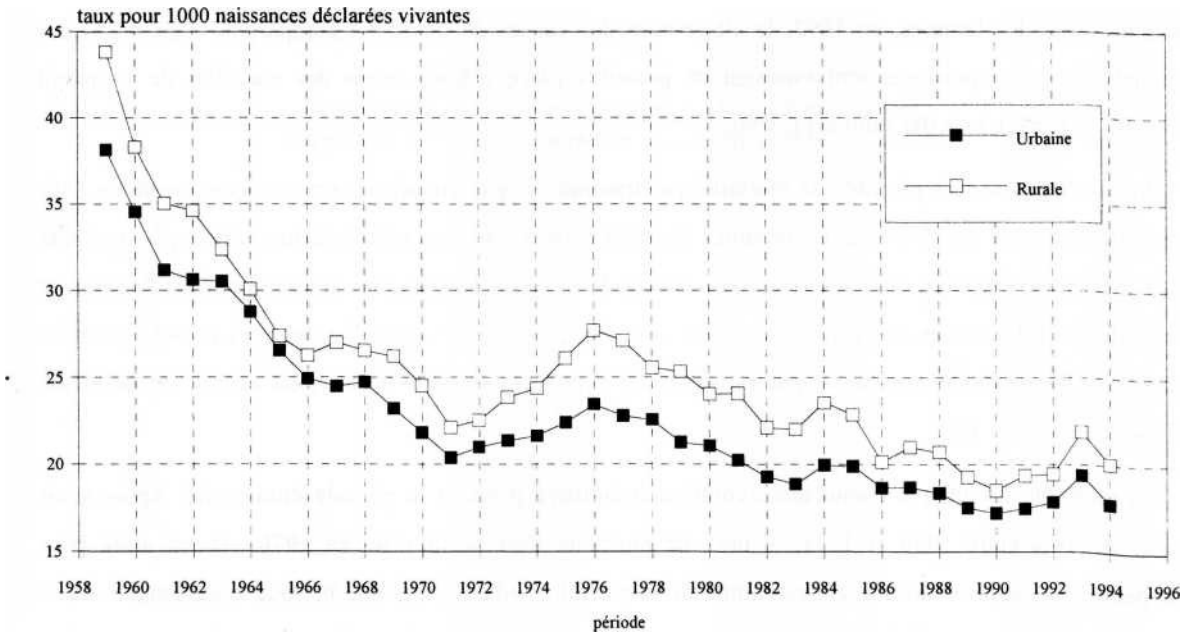
Infant mortality experienced irregular trends during the period studied here. After falling by 47% between 1959 and 1971, the mortality rate increased until 1976. No other European country has ever experienced an increase in infant mortality over such a long period. This deterioration in infant mortality has not yet found an exhaustive explanation. The hypothesis according to which this phenomenon would be the consequence of an improvement in the completeness of the registration of

Year / sex	Diseases infectious and parasitic *(chapter I)*	Cancers *(chapter II)*	Diseases of the device circulatory *(chapter VII)*	Diseases of the device respiratory *(chapter IX)*	Diseases of the device digestive *(chapter XI)*	Accidents, suicides and homicide *(chapter XVII)*
Women						
1990	2.9	60.5	47.9	6.1	7.1	51.7
1991	3.1	61.3	49.1	6.0	7.1	55.0
1992	3.2	61.4	54.5	6.2	8.5	69.5
1993	4.7	60.5	71.7	9.3	11.7	95.0
Men						
1990	19.6	142.7	220.6	30.9	23.2	284.7
1991	20.1	141.7	222.3	29.1	24.0	303.3
1992	23.7	142.2	251.5	35.2	30.1	377.0
1993	32.6	145.1	329.0	55.4	40.0	489.8
Together						
1990	11.5	103.0	137.2	18.9	15.4	172.1
1991	11.9	102.9	138.7	17.9	15.8	183.5
1992	13.8	103.2	156.5	21.3	19.7	228.8
1993	19.2	104.5	205.5	33.3	26.4	300.3

Source **: Demographic Directory of the Russian Federation. 1994. Edition of Goskomstat of Russia, Moscow, 1994. p. 307, 329, 318.**

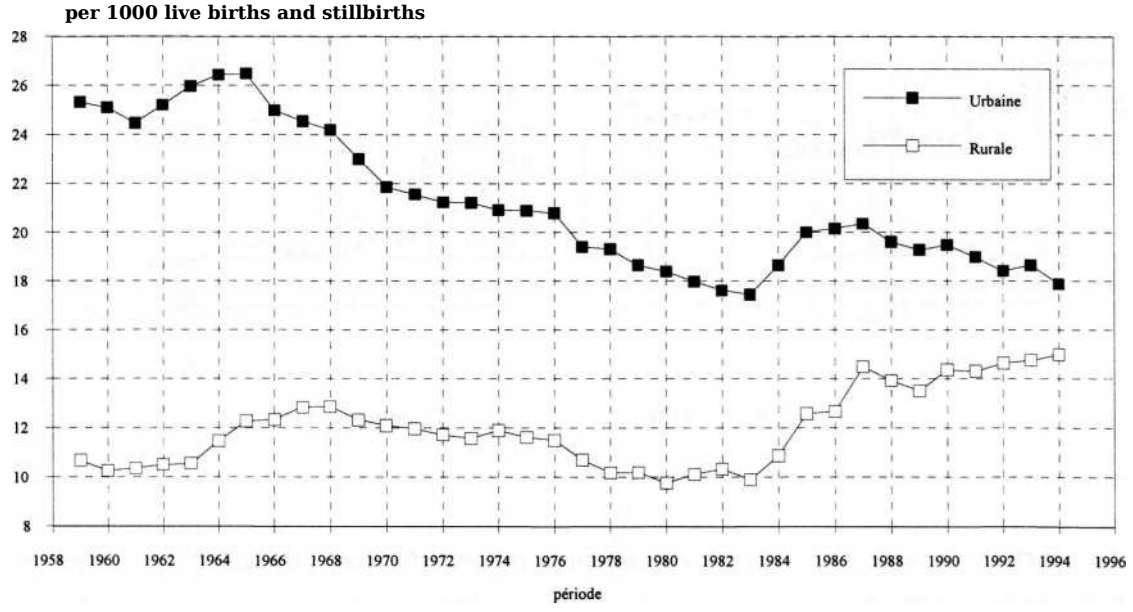
*** - Women 16-54 years old, men 16-59 years old**

Figure 18. Infant mortality rate in urban and rural Russia (1959-1994)



Indeed, the definition of a live birth in Russia before 1993 did not correspond to the recommendations of the World Health Organization. According to the directives of the USSR Ministry of Public Health, for a birth to be considered alive the following conditions had to be met: gestation must have lasted 28 weeks, the child must measure at least 35 centimeters, weigh 1000 grams at least and have breathed. In the absence of breathing, the child was considered stillborn. Children less than 35 centimeters and less than 1000 grams who died within a week of birth were also considered stillborn. Since January 1, 1993, Russia has adopted the less restrictive WHO definition of live birth, which accelerates the increase in the infant mortality rate.

The analysis of the components of infant and perinatal mortality shows, however, that the problem of the quality of observation has not yet found a solution. The infant mortality rate in cities is always higher than that in the countryside, but with regard to perinatal mortality, it is the opposite (graph 19): it remains higher in the cities than in the countryside, even if the gap tends to narrow, from 250% at the beginning of the 1960s to 26% in 1993.

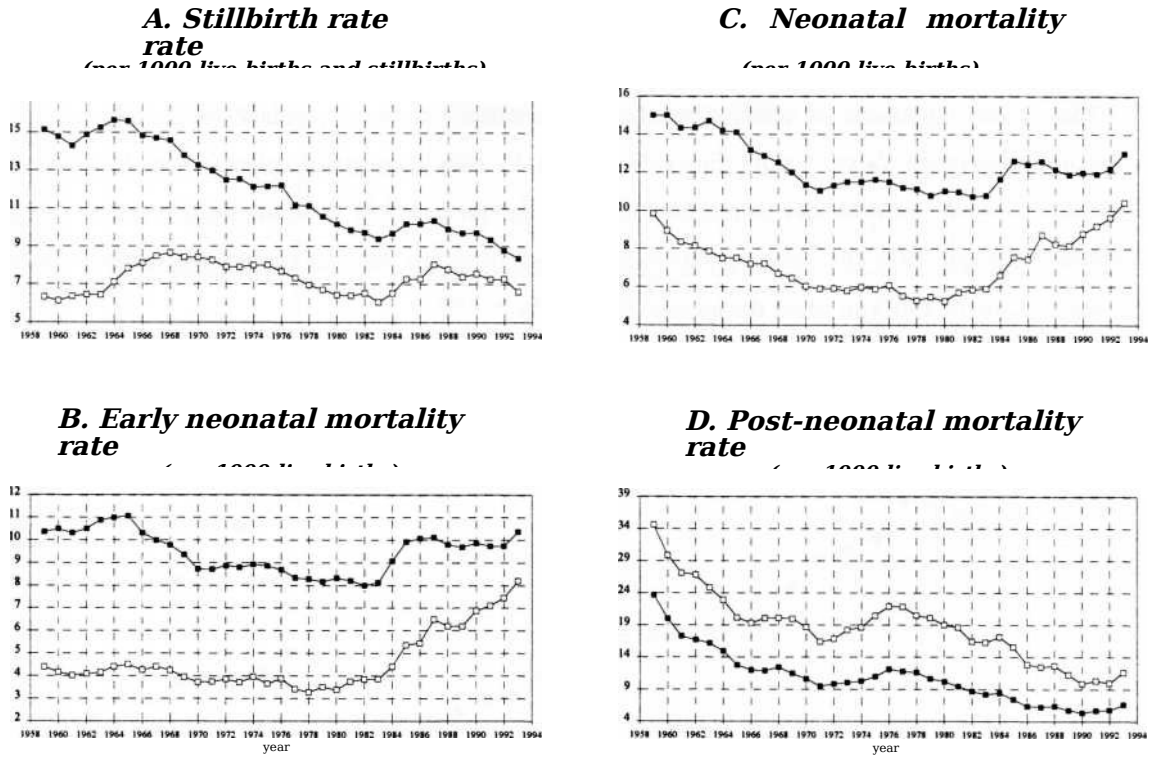


Stillbirth, neonatal mortality and early neonatal mortality are in similar relationships, in cities and countryside, during the period 1959-1993 to perinatal mortality (graph 20). The evolution of these components of infant mortality reflects, in reality, more changes in the count of stillbirths and spontaneous abortions in the countryside than a real evolution.

Cf. E.Andreev "MjiaaeHHecKaa CMepTHOCTb в Россни" (*Infant mortality in Russia). Bonpocbi cmamucmuKU* (*Voprosy statistiki),* 1995, n° 5, p. 66-71.

The problem of the quality of infant mortality recording therefore does not seem to be resolved. Given that 30% of births take place in the countryside, the underestimation of infant mortality for the entire population is not negligible. The improvement in the statistical recording of infant deaths therefore continues to have an influence on the evolution of infant mortality indicators.

Figure 20. Components of perinatal and infant mortality in Russia (1959-1993)



The main cause of infant death is "perinatal conditions", which represented 44% of deaths in 1993. "Congenital anomalies", with 20% of deaths, come in second place, followed by respiratory diseases (12% of death).

The structure of causes of death is different in cities and in the countryside. It can be said that the rural population lags behind the urban population. Indeed, respiratory diseases cause more deaths in the countryside, where they were still the main cause of death in the mid-1980s; today, with 23% of deaths, they represent the second cause of infant deaths in rural areas, twice as many as in cities. Child deaths caused by accidents are also more frequent in the countryside.

	Infectious and parasitic	Diseases respiratory	Diseases digestive	Anomalies innate	States of the perinatal	Accidents, suicides and	All causes
	chapter I	chapter VIII	chapter IX	chapter XIV	chapter XV	chapter XVII	
Total population							
1985	11.6%	23.3%	1.0%	17.7%	37.5%	4.3%	100%
1986	9.9%	19.5%	0.9%	19.3%	41.2%	4.1%	100%
1987	9.2%	17.9%	0.7%	20.3%	42.7%	4.0%	100%
1988	9.1%	18.4%	0.8%	20.4%	41.0%	3.9%	100%
1989	8.5%	16.0%	0.8%	20.7%	43.7%	4.1%	100%
1990	7.7%	14.2%	0.6%	21.3%	46.0%	4.1%	100%
1991	7.0%	15.2%	0.7%	21.8%	44.8%	4.4%	100%
1992	6.5%	14.7%	0.8%	21.4%	44.6%	4.7%	100%
1993	7.1%	15.5%	0.8%	20.5%	44.3%	4.9%	100%
Urban population							
1985	9.6%	17.3%	0.9%	19.2%	45.5%	3.1%	100%
1986	7.8%	14.2%	0.7%	20.8%	48.9%	3.1%	100%
1987	7.4%	13.3%	0.6%	21.7%	49.5%	3.0%	100%
1988	7.2%	13.7%	0.6%	22.1%	48.0%	3.0%	100%
1989	6.7%	11.7%	0.6%	22.2%	50.3%	3.3%	100%
1990	6.2%	10.3%	0.5%	22.7%	51.8%	3.2%	100%
1991	5.4%	11.2%	0.6%	23.1%	50.7%	3.4%	100%
1992	5.1%	11.1%	0.7%	22.9%	49.7%	4.1%	100%
1993	5.9%	11.6%	0.6%	22.1%	49.6%	4.1%	100%
Rural population							
1985	15.6%	35.4%	1.2%	14.5%	21.0%	6.8%	100%
1986	14.6%	31.1%	1.2%	15.9%	24.5%	6.4%	100%
1987	13.1%	28.0%	0.5%	17.1%	28.3%	6.0%	100%
1988	12.9%	28.5%	1.1%	16.7%	26.0%	5.8%	100%
1989	12.3%	25.1%	1.1%	17.6%	29.5%	6.0%	100%
1990	10.8%	22.5%	0.9%	18.2%	33.6%	6.0%	100%
1991	10.1%	22.9%	0.8%	19.1%	33.1%	6.2%	100%
1992	9.0%	21.7%	0.8%	18.6%	34.9%	5.9%	100%
1993	9.4%	22.6%	1.0%	17.6%	34.5%	6.4%	100%

Infant mortality in Russia is moderately higher than in other European countries, but maternal mortality is extremely higher. In 1980, the maternal mortality rate reached 68 deaths per 1,000 live births. This level, which was the highest among all republics of the USSR, decreased to 47.4 per 100,000 in 1990. Since then it has increased again (52.4 in 1991, 50.8 in 1992) . This worsening of maternal mortality undoubtedly reflects a deterioration in the health of mothers, with an increase in the number of pregnant women suffering from anemia.

1.5. New migration situation

Throughout its history, Russia has been primarily a country where migration was

that approximately 4.5 million emigrants from the Russian Empire, mostly Jews and Poles. Russians (including Ukrainians and Belarusians) constituted less than 10% of emigrants, although during the first decade of the 20th century the proportion of Russians in emigration flows began to increase.

The major currents of internal migration have been colonization and rural exodus. The colonization of Siberia and the northern regions, which began in the 16th century, continued under Soviet rule. The rural exodus, until the 1950s, had a rampant character, to the extent that it consisted only of the population surplus resulting from natural growth. We can say that rural fertility fed the urban population. In the 1950s, after Kshrushchev's liberalization, a real rural exodus was observed, with the Russian countryside losing more than 1.5 million people each year. For Russia as a whole, the migratory balance was negative until the mid-1970s, but it then became positive, without becoming significantly significant.

After the dismemberment of the USSR, migration also experienced changes in direction and intensity. First, the rural population begins to increase, not only due to administrative changes, but also due to immigration. Let us recall that according to the 1989 census more than 25 million Russians lived in the other republics of the USSR. Normally Russians are endogamous (in 1989 only 16.1% of Russian men and 17.7% of Russian women married people of another nationality) and the Russian diaspora on the territory of the former republics of the USSR represents significant migratory potential. Net migration for the entire population is increasing rapidly and reached more than 500,000 people in 1993, according to an estimate by Jeanne Zaïonntchkovska'ia.

A wave of massive immigration partially compensates for the deficit in births over deaths, and we can consider that this is a positive phenomenon, from a strictly demographic point of view. But from a social point of view the arrival of more than 900,000 people in one year, as in 1992 and 1993, poses many problems (although emigration from Russia amounted to 570,000 in 1992 and 379,000 in 1993). We can expect an increase in return immigration from regions in a state of political tension such as Central Asia and the Caucasus, although some of the emigrants from these regions may head towards other countries. Europeans from the CIS (Ukraine, Belarus, etc.), as well as an immigration of Caucasian or Asian refugees, who leave their country to escape violence or are attracted by the relatively more prosperous economic situation in Russia.

Regarding internal migrations, it should be noted that they have decreased significantly, from 4.7 million in 1989 to less than 3 in 1993. However, we cannot exclude, in the years to come, a territorial redistribution in Russia , imposed by the restructuring of the economy. Regions producing raw materials, located in the Far North and in Siberia, could experience a massive exodus of their population, urban